WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Persecution of Left Opposition

Stalin Works for the Physical Destruction of the Bolshevik-Leninists

In a recent issue of **The Militant** we carried an item about the heroic hunger strike of the Bolshevik-Leninists who are jailed in the isolation camp at Verchne-Uralsk. This hunger strike, caused by the intolerable administration, lasted eighteen days, after which the jailers used forcible feeding methods on our Russian comrades, beat them and used weapons (one comrade was wounded).

Twenty-five percent of the imprisoned Oppositonists are sick with scurvy; the prevailing severe stomach ailments continue; the cells are small and overcrowded (fifteen men in one narrow cell), and the isolation from freedom is complete.

The least protest of the imprisoned Bolshevik-Leninists means new reprisals, savage beatings and a dousing with the water-hose in fiercely cold weather (February, 1931). This alone sufficiently describes the administration to which the imprisoned Russian Oppositions are subjected in Stalin's jails.

The purpose of this administration is the physical annihilation of the Left Opposition. The bureaucratic clique is clearly heading for this course, with Stalin at the head, taking the place of the Party and the working class. The little clique of Stalinistsis bending every effort to exterminate the bearers of the ideas of Lenin, hoping in this way to exterminate those ideas themselves.

In the isolation camps at Varchne-Uralsk and elsewhere are the flower and the future of the Bolshevik Party, its best cadres, devoted to the end. The struggle to save these cadres of the Russian Opposition is at the same time a struggle for the Communist Party, for Soviet Russia, for the cause of the October Revolution. Not a single working class party comrade can or dare pass by indifferent to the fate of the Russian Oppositionists.

Who Are The Opposition?

Below is an incomplete list of the Oppositionists imprisoned in the isolation camp at Verchne-Uralsk, with a few biographical notes. Later we hope to give a report of the intellectual life that flourishes in spite of jail bars in the camp. There are a total of over 130 prisoners at Verchne-Uralsk, a number of them now almost three years in jail.

List of the Bolshevik-Leninists (Left Opposition) in the Verchne-Uralsk Prison

1. Abramski; 2. Awojan; 3. N. Aldhausen; 4. Aloiz; 5. Akopjan; 6. Aronow; 7. Ardstein; 8. A. Askakjan; 9. Antokolski; 10. Arddaschelija; 11. Asatjan; 12. O. Barkin; 13. Belinsik; 14. Besasjan; 15. Babajan; 16. Bersina; 17. Beradse; 18. Brik; 19. Bulnitschew; 20. Bodrow; 21. Bugon; 22. Nadjeschda Gerdobjan; 23. Gorddjeew; 24. Glistowski- 25. C. Geworkjan; 26. Grumann; 27. Gogeraschwili; 28. Gowendo; 29; Jefim Golub; 30. Grajew; 31. Lisa Golddberg; 32. Garbmann; 33. Hirschfeld; 34. Ph. Dingelstedt; 35. Drapkin; 36. Dwinski; 37. Donadse; 38. Saleski; 39. Saikow; 40. Ssguski; 41. Surabjan; 42. M. Iwanowa; 43. Joffe; 44. Kosolapow; 45. Klaudia Kremmer; 46. Koidinow; 47. Kaslas; 48. Krainu; 49. Kakusin; 50. Kwatschadse; 51. Kessel; 52. Koputov; 53. Koltow; 54. Kulikow; 55. Komarowa; 56. Korsanidse; 57. Kamenezki; 58. Kirschin; 59. Lubitko; 60. A. Lipatow; 61. Libkin; 62. Ph. Lapschin; 63. Langer; 64. Ida Lemeljan; 65. Musaj Magid; 66. Melnais; 67. P. Maluj; 68. Markus; 69. Michailewitsch; 70. Man Newelsom; 71. Osnjatsch; 72. Organesow-Ter; 73. Posnanski; 74. Podsemski; 75. Aron Papermeister! 76. Leo Papermeister; 77. Paul Papermeister; 78. N. Perewersew; 79. Ch. Peusner; 80. Panow; 81. Pazschwili; 82. Puschasz; 83. Popow; 84. A. Polinuk; 85. Piwner; 86. Psalmopewzew; 87. Raz; 88. Rapoport; 89. Reschetnitschenko; 90. G. Stopalow; 91. S. Slitinsky; 92. Arno Saakjan; 93. Sosorew; 94. Surnow; 95. Selowjan; 96. Swiridow; 97. E. Solnzew; 98. E. Tabatschnik; 99. Twattschiridse; 100. Ugrjumow; 101. Ukrainzew; 102. Frumkin; 103. Flaks; 104. Fedortschenko; 105. Chelidsde; 106. Chaschzewaski; 107. Tschernuich; 108. Tscherepachin; 109. Lisa Schapiro; 110. S. Scheilat; 111. Schemes; 112. Schkuratow; 113. Schpitainik; 114. Jaschwill; 115. Jakowin; 116. Jakowlew; 117. W. Elzin.

Fedor Nikolaievitch Dingelstedt—Mem-

(Continued on page 3)

The Militant Is in Danger!

Will You Help?

Shall the **Militant** appear? This question is posed definitely before our supporters, sympathizers and readers. We have told our readers frankly of the serious financial situation in which the **Militant** finds itself. To our appeals for money to maintain the weekly **Militant,** there has been a response sufficient to issue the weekly to date. But there is no assurance or certainty that another week will pass before we are faced with the necessity to give up the Weekly **Militant.** This is a statement of fact. **Now it is up to our readers and supporters.**

Yet the need for the weekly **Militant** is greater today than at any other time. More than ever do we need the **Militant** to explain the world-wide economic and political events that shake the world on its foundations, to educate the working masses and its leading cadres, the Communists, in the fundamentals of Communism and the program, strategy and tactics of the class-conscious workers and revolutionaries.

The war in Manchuria raises sharply the dangers of another world war to engulf the working class and all civilization; the events in Spain; the spectre of fascism in Germany and its dangers to the international proletariat; the economic crisis that so cruelly affects the working masses—all these need such an organ as the **Militant** to interpret their significance and to outline a program of action for the working class in its struggle against capitalism.

Official Communism, as expressed and carried out under the leadership of Stalin and the Comintern, continues to ravage the vitals of the Communist movement and to lead the working class from one defeat to another. Officialism Communism more and more neglects and sneers at Communist theory and moves toward the theory and practices of national socialism as against internationalism.

In all the welter and confusion, the **Militant** for three years now has been an ever-burning beacon light and guide to the English-speaking workers and Communists. A retreat to a semi-monthly existence again, or perhaps even worse, would be a heavy blow against the revolutionary needs of the working class and especially to the Communist movement and its regeneration on its original Communist foundations.

Now our need is great. An IMMEDIATE RESPONSE with substantial donations is imperative. Do not delay your assistance. IMMEDIATE SUPPORT means the continuation of the **Militant.** We count upon our readers to come forward at once and HELP.

Send all funds to:

THE MILITANT
84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.

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NOTICE

NEW PAMPHLET ON GERMANY
By L. D. TROTSKY

We have just received a brochure from L. D. Trotsky on:

"Shall Fascism Take Power?—Germany, the Key to the International Situation."

This important document on the momentous issue of Fascism in Germany and the tasks of the revolutionary proletariat and Communists has been translated into English and will soon be issued by us in pamphlet form, 32 pages.

Every worker and Communist will want to read the masterly analysis and proposals of comrade L. D. Trotsky, the greatest living exponent of Bolshevism, to the German working class and Communist movement. The issue is raised sharply: Fascism or the struggle for political power by the working class under the leadership of the Communists.

The pamphlet will sell for 10 cents. Bundles rates of five or more are seven cents per copy. Advance orders can now be placed.

Send cash, check or money order to:

THE PIONEER PUBLISHERS
84 Sast 10th Street,
New York, N. Y.

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The National Tour

The National Tour of Arne Swabeck has carried him as far west as Kansas City, Mo. and Minneapolis, Minn. Successful gatherings, reported on elsewhere, have been held in all the cities that comrade Swabeck has visited. From his engagements in Minneapolis, he will turn eastward for return meetings and a New Year's Eve banquet in Chicago and will then proceed to Pittsburgh, Pa., Youngstown and Cleveland, Ohio and thence to Philadelphia.

Balance of schedule follows:

Chicago, Ill.	Dec. 31 and January 1, 2, 3.
Cleveland, Ohio	January 5th
Youngstown, Ohio	January 6th
Pittsburgh, Pa.	January 7th
Philadelphia, Pa.	January 9, 10.

Menace of Fascism Imperils Germany

United Front of Masses Needed to Ward off Danger

In the political complex which constitutes the heritage of the World War, Germany has consistently occupied the most valuable position in European capitalism. As a consequence of this, the eyes of the world have always been concentrated on Germany affairs. German conjuncture has played an effective part in the lives of all the capitalist nations. The Dawes plan, the Young plan, the Hague Conferences, the Hoover Moratorium—all involving immediately the fate of this war crippled country—have been milestones in post-war history.

Today we are witnessing in Germany a regime barely short of Fascism, comparable only to the most desperate wartime administration among the bourgeois governments. By official decree, the wages of the workers are cut ten percent, prices are submitted to regulation by a dictator appointed to this office, interest rates are reduced, etc., etc. Needless to say only the wage-cut decree actually remains effective. There is no tool so pliant in carrying out the orders of the Bruening Government as the reformist betrayers in the Trade Unions. The American press generally admits as much and skeptically smiles at the other decrees.

How the Bourgeoisie Copes With the Crisis

Police force and war ministry are united in the hands of one of Germany's "strong men", the Hohenzollern General Groener. Street meetings are prohibited. Indoor political meetings can only take place in the presence of an "officer of the Law". Groener raids Communist headquarters, suspends Communist newspapers, and encourages the "marching Nationalist Youth" of the Hitler forces in their murder expeditions through the proletarian quarters. Freedom of the press is denied not only to Communists but even to the radical bourgeois intelligentsia. Carl von Ossietsky, editor of the radical **Weltbuehne** and one of his fellow journalists have recently been convicted of "espionage", for an article published some two years ago! The reactionary supreme court at Leipzig, in the formation of which Fritz Ebert and other Social-democratic worthies, played quiet prominent parts, have discovered "literary high-treason", with which to incarcerate . . . novelists and fiction writers sympathetic to the working class. The unemployed army has grown to the five million mark and there is talk of instituting the Nazi propagated "Zwangsarbeit", a practice similar to that of the chain-gang—so very popular in the South of the United States—as a solution to the unemployed problem.

This is the way the bourgeoisie is attempting to cope with the crisis at present. It is quite well known at this time that it enjoys the loyal support of the social-democratic "opposition" in the Reichstag. The Social-democrats are, namely, "tolerating" the Bruening regime as the "lesser evil" in preference to an openly fascist regime. As a result of this there is a great deal of commotion in the ranks of the social-democracy and its electorate. That the Communists have not been able to benefit by this situation to the **full extent,** is to be ascribed entirely to the stupid and obdurate tactical mistakes of the leadership, receiving their instructions from the Comintern. The Nazis however have been the greatest profiteers of the general situation, roping ever-greater numbers of supporters among all the declassed elements, by their political mimicry: the golden mean of their compound of nationalism and "socialism". All the local elections confirm this trend completely.

The World Imperialists and German Fascism

American finance and business, heavy investors in Germany since the days of the Dawes Plan—the present state of United States investments in Germany has been under discussion in the bankers' testimony before the Senate Finance Committee this last week—have in the past been inclined to cast a not altogether favorable eye on Hitler and National Socialism. There are too many sacrifices at stake under a Hitler rule and American Imperialism has always been accustomed to play the hypocritical democrat. But less than two weeks ago we were faced with a veritable Hitler boom in the American press.

How is this to be explained? Quite simply: For weeks there have been strong rumors of a "Socialist-Communist alliance" in Germany, based probably on the many spontaneous and semi-spontaneous united front actions of reformist and revolutionary workers against the fascist terror and no doubt also on the demagogic offer of cooperation made to the Communists by the Social-democratic leader, Breitschield. That all this happened under the pressure of the rank and file workers is indisputable. One has only to be acquainted with the daily anti-Bolshevik tirades of the Berlin **Vorwaerts** to realize this. The rising sentiment for united action in the German working class, the threatened crumbling of reformist influence, aroused the American imperialists to a new orientation for a moment. With the apparent dissipation of the rumored possibilities of united working class action, the Hitler boom once more subsided. As long as reformism and social-democracy can prevent militant, united action on the part of the German working class, the American imperialists will withhold complete support of Fascism. In the meantime, however, the *Hitler forces are steadily increasing,* a continued menace to the very existence of the as yet divided German working class.

Hitler's Nazi Party has recently made a turn towards "legalism". That is, they are staking their cards on a "peaceful" entry into the government either by full control or in coalition with Bruening, with the Clerical Party. Hitler is not troubled by any theories or principles. His strength lies in adapting his reactionary motives to the currents in the mass. His penetration into the proletarian camp has not met with any degree of success similar to the one he has enjoyed among the declassed bourgeois elements. Hence, the "socialist", the "revolutionary", elements in his program have practically been shelved for the time being. Having succeeded in rallying the papuerized petty-bourgeois masses around him, he quite naturally appeals to outside help to throw its weight into the balance. His aggressive tone, so familiar in referring to the French "arch-enemy" has calmed down considerably. He is negotiating, bargaining for a compromise with the foreign imperialists.

In an interview with a New York **Times** correspondent, Hitler cynically poses the question whether "the world" would not "prefer German universal military service"—that part of the Hitler program hardest to digest for the foreign imperialists—"to a German Red Army"? In England, his emmisary Rosenberg, according to another **Times,** dispatch, openly speaks of "a Germany . . . throwing her whole weight for the conquest of territory needed for her colonization in **Eastern** and Central Europe." And more bluntly even, he predicts that "southern Russia will be thrown open to German colonists". All of this, only to show the trend of Nazi "foreign policy". At one time, it should be remembered, when the Nazis were still very weak and fishing in all waters, they even spoke of an "eastern orientation" against the enemy across the Rhine.

Hitlerism: Farce or Menace?

There is a tendency among German radicals as a whole to laugh off the Fascist menace, to regard the whole Hitler movement as pure quackery. Hitlerism is a sort of "German Science", a witty journalist once remarked. When one considers the Teuton Cult, the fantastic brand of anti-semitism and the other ideological embellishments of Hitlerism, one is inclined to agree in part. But how is it possible to forget the generous funds of German heavy industry backing Hitler, how can the wave of reaction in Great Britian, its strength in France, in Italy, be left out of account? And it is just these factors that ultim-

(Continued on uage 2)

The Conspiracy Against the R.R. Workers

For some weeks now negotiations between the Railroad Executives and the "labor leaders" of the railroad workers have been under way for the specific purpose of instituting wage reductions for the industry as a whole. The committee of nine railroad presidents representing the leading roads in the country, adamant in the beginning against any kind of joint discussions with the leaders of the railroad unions over the question of wage-cuts, have finally agreed to such negotiations. It is quite understandable that the Railroad Executives saw that it would be to their best interests to participate in such negotiations as a pretence, in which the labor officials take part as the "workers' front" protesting such reductions or effecting concessions from the "captains" of the industry.

Labor Officials Betray Workers

The committee of nine presidents, on December 21, served formal notice of their intentions to reduce wages 15 per cent. The announcement is considered as official and to the labor leaders marks a basis for discussion revolving around "securities for the workers" in exchange for their acceptance of wage-cuts. The raising of the proposed reduction to 15 per cent from the original proposal of 10 per cent, was instigated by the union leaders themselves, the object being to arrange a basis for "bargaining". What this actually means is that the officialdom of the railroad unions are prepared to accept the wage reductions of 10 per cent. Their proposal that the Railroad Executives add 5 per cent to the original plan is done with the aim of presenting the 10 per cent wage-cut as a victory of labor over capital and the triumph of worker-management cooperation. These fakers will then turn to the railroad workers and say: Witness the struggle we have put up for you. The Railroad Executives wished to reduce your wages 15 per cent. We would never stand for this; we could not betray you workers and so we finally convinced them to introduce only a 10 per cent wage-cut. In return the Railroad Executives promise not to continue lay-offs and keep those at work now, on the job. That is how the situation stands today. The employers are pushing rapidly for wage reductions. The labor officials are agreeing but requesting in return the "distribution of employment on the widest scale possible."

The railroad industry which is suffering from the effects of the crisis, only exhibits the decay of the capitalist system and the impossibility of "rejuventation". Their solution is the capitalist solution—further repressions against the workers. It is sought in increased unemployment, part-time work and vicious wage-cuts which spell further impoverishment of the workers in the industry. These efforts of the capitalists would be much more difficult were it not for the "splendid" support that it receives from the officialdom of the railway labor unions whose role is that of a check upon any signs of workers' militancy and rebellion. Receiving now the endorsement of the government (an endorsement which was actually not needed—and the failure of which would not have prevented wage-cuts), the railroad industry proceeds with confidence and ruthlessness.

Workers Must Organize Resistance

The railroad workers, who have in the past fought some of the most militant struggles in the history of the American labor movement, find themselves at the present time in a weakened condition. In 1919 the labor unions went on record for "government ownership and democratic management of the roads". They even favored independent political action of the workers, and showed an interst in a Labor party. Succumbing largely to the ideology of union-management cooperation, the B. & O. plan of company unionism, the railroad workers are today dispersed. Their forces are weakened, their leaders have betrayed them. They saw their unions smashed, experienced a loss of rights, and found their wages cut constantly.

This drive against the railroad workers while resulting in sporadic strike efforts from time to time, has been carried through in general without resistance on the part of the rank and file. But this situation cannot be expected to last. The offensive against the workers is finding a reaction in their ranks.

The railroad workers must cast aside their officialdom. If they are to effectively resist the present offensive which threatens their very existence they must begin now to organize a nation-wide strike movement against the wage-cut. With the **central slogan** of **the six hour day** and five day week without a reduction in pay, linked with the struggle for unemployment insurance, against the speed-up system, etc., the railroad workers have the possibilities to carry out an effective struggle. The needs of the situation demand this from the railroad workers. In this and developing struggles against the railroad barons is involved the very existence and development of militant unions in the railroad industry.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

CHICAGO Open Forum

CHICAGO—On **Sunday, January 3rd, 1932, at 3 P. M. sharp,** comrade Arne Swabeck will lecture on **"Trotsky's Views on the World Crisis".** The lecture will be given at **REDIFER'S HALL, 30 NO. WELLS STREET, Room 403.** The admission is 15 cents and the meeting is under the auspices of the Chicago Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition). All workers are invited.

The Chicago Branch holds Open Forums every Saturday afternoon at 3 P. M. at its Headquarters Hall, 1435 No. Western Ave. The above lecture has been transferred to Redifer's Hall because of the large crowd that is expected to attendd.

On **New Year's Eve,** December 31st, 1931, a banquet will be given at the League Headquarters, 1435 No. Western Ave. for the benefit of the **Militant.** Comrade Swabeck will be present.

Marine Workers to Hold Defense Meet

Attention in the movement for the defense of Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer—marine workers facing trial in the dynamite frame-up—is centering now in the preparations for a public mass meeting on the case which is to be held in **Webster Hall,** on **Thursday evening, January 7.** A representative list of speakers will discuss the entire affair from all angles on this occasion. The meeting is expected to be the starting point for a really popular development of the movement through public agitation. Among the speakers already scheduled to appear in the Webster Hall mass meeting are: James P. Cannon, Ben Fletcher, Ben Gitlow, A. J. Muste, Walter Starrett, Carlo Tresca, Carter Hudson will be chairman. Leaflets and posters advertising the meeting have been prepared. Organizations or individuals wishing to help in the work of distributing the leaflets or who wish to display the posters in their headquarters may secure them from the defense committee.

At the meeting of the defense committee held on December 21, a sub-committee was appointed to organize the sending of speakers to labor organizations to explain the case. A number of requests for speakers have already come in. The sub-committee will now systematize the work and will be prepared to furnish speakers on request. In connection with this a draft of a circular to be sent to labor organizations was approved and ordered printed.

At the same meeting it was reported that a group of ten or twelve former class war prisoners in New York City who have served terms in various penitentiaries for their activity in the labor movement, had drawn up a joint statement appealing for labor support of the indicated marine workers and will release it for publication in the next few days with their names and prison records signed to it.

The sub-committee which had been delegated to interview the Civil Liberties Union on the case reported the decision of that organization to issue a public statement condemning the third degree tortures inflicted on the prisoners and the use of a stool-pigeon and agent-provocateur in the case. Norman Hawkins, who has acted as a provisional member of the defense committee at the request of two of the defendants, pending its final organization as a delegate body, presented his resignation from the committee and the same was accepted. The next meeting of the defense committee will take place on Monday evening, December 28, at the office of **Il Martello.**

A LETTER FROM REILLY

James Reilly, one of the original defendants in the marine workers' case, who was first implicated by the stool-pigeon Hoyle and then dismissed because of an obvious descrepancy in his story in regards to Reilly, is being held at the 53rd St. jail, under a thousand dollars bail, as a "material witness". Reilly's attitude towards the other defendants is shown in the following letter from him.

December 21, 1931.

Dear Friend Cannon:

Received your letter and was sure glad to get some news from the outside. The days drag along and are quite lonesome, altho' we get the newspapers every day and I watch them pretty closely for the developments that are taking place in Germany and the Far East. How is the union making out, at present. I hope that they have enough sense to put up a fight not only in the case, but I hope that there might be a possibility of uniting all existing organizations upon a common basis for struggle against wage cuts, speeding up, etc. It is quite an experience being locked up, with people whose intelligence is absolutely zero as far as they are concerned. The place is full of married men, who are in here for non-support of all descriptions. There are people here who would send their own mother to jail, rats of the worst kind. Give my regards to the rest of the boys, Soderberg, etc. I have followed the Mooney case daily but it looks as tho' he is domed to stay where he is.

So far no one has been to see me. I guess no one will be allowed to see me. That will be all this time.

Fraternally yours,
JAMES REILLY.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

By **LEON TROTSKY: "Stalin and the Chinese Revolution—Facts and Documents".** Contents:

"How Did The Shanghai Overturn Occur?"

"The Organizers of 'The Influx of Workers and Peasants Blood'."

"Stalin Repeats His Experiment With the 'Left' Kuo Min Tang".

"Against the Opposition—For the Kuo Min Tang!"

"Stalin Once More Disarms The Chinese Workers and Peasants".

"A Sojourn With Trotsky" by **Albert Glotzer.**

Cantonese Continue Capitalist Policy

Chinese Proletariat Must Develop Struggle for Democratic Rights

The scene of Far Eastern affairs has shifted to China proper with the resignation of Chiang Kai-Shek as president of the Chinese Nationalist Government and the rise to power of the southern Cantonese faction of the Kuo Min Tang, headed by Wang Chin Wei, Eugene Chen and Sun Fo. The vacillation and impotence of Chiang Kai-Shek and the Nanking faction in the face of the invasion of Manchuria by the Japanese, and the pressure from the rising wrath of the workers, peasants and students hastened the downfall of Chiang and Nanking. The immediate basis of the differences between the Canton and Nanking factions, apart from opinions as to how best to continue the exploitation of the Chinese masses, was the dissatisfaction of the Cantonese clique of militarists and politicians with the complete domination of the government by general Chiang Kai-Shek and Finance Minister T. V. Soong, who between them controlled all the guns and all the money—and therefore all the power.

The Canton Bourgeois Clique

The Cantonese already last May set up their style of "Nationalist Government of China", but onrushing events, especially the Manchurian war, forced the Nanking and Canton cliques to discuss "unification" of the Kuo Min Tang. Since October "terms" have been discussed, and now, according to declarations, these have been satisfactorily arranged. The Cantonese group of the Kuo Min Tang becomes the open face of the capitulator before the foreign imperialists and the oppressor of the masses of China. Chiang Kai-Shek and others of his faction are to be adequately cared for, however, in the redistribution of the spoils, offices and honors.

With this change of rule in China to another faction of the bourgeois Kuo Min Tang, nothing essential, as we pointed out before in the **Militant,** has been changed. Wang Chin Wei, Eugene Chen & Co. will talk about a more "determined" stand against the Japanese, but actually it will consist only of phrases. Their real color was again stamped when, within a day after the Cantonese were in control, troops in Nanking were shooting and killing demonstrating workers and students. Chiang Kai-Shek, of course, was particularly reluctant to proceed against the Japanese bourgeoisie, with whom he had maintained friendly relations. Most of his wealth is deposited in banks of Tokyo, Japan. Chiang loves his money most of all. It is fitting that the Cantonese propose Chiang Kai-Shek as Chairman of the Military Council. He is the most accomplished artist, thanks to Stalin, of murder of the Chinese proletariat.

In brief, the Cantonese will continue the policies of Chiang Kai-Shek, endeavoring to change the forms to meet a changing situation. There will be more talk of "democratic rights", etc., but these will only be achieved if the working masses of China develop a struggle to win them and succeed in drawing the poor peasants and students into such a struggle under their leadership. A Chinese Communist Party that recognizes the necessity for the struggle for democratic rights in this period and prepares to fight for them, must lead and direct the whole movement.

The "Achievements" of Stalin and the Browders

It is necessary to point out that the Chiang Kai-Sheks, the Wang Chin Weis and Eugene Chens, the Right, Center and Left of the Kuo Min Tang in the period of 1925-1927, all united in the destruction and massacre of the Chinese workers and peasants. It is equally necessary to point out "that the cruel massacre of the Chinese proletariat and the Chinese Revolution at its three most important turning points . . . the party owes principally and above all to comrade Stalin" and to the lesser Stalinites, the Earl Browders, et al.

Stalin and Stalinism sowed the roots of illusion and belief of the Chinese masses in the Kuo Min Tang by demanding the subordination, **politically, ideologically and organizationally** of the Communist Party and the proletariat to the bourgeois Kuo Min Tang. The blood bath of the Chinese proletariat was the price paid. Behind the sword of Chiang Kai-Shek, Wang Chin Wei and Company was the approving head of Stalin and his Menshevik supporter and advisor, Martynov.

In another section of the **Militant** there begins the publication of "Facts and Documents on Stalin's Role in the Chinese Revolution," which comrade Trotsky has assembled. These further serve to demonstrate the terrible degradition and horror to which Stalin subjected the Chinese Communist Party and the proletariat. It is proper that an Earl Browder, who assisted in the betrayals of the Chinese workers as an agent of Stalin should condemn (**Daily Worker,** 12-19-31) Chen Du-Shu, who, becoming conscious of the crimes of Stalinism and the correctness of the criticism and program of the Left Opposition, honestly declared himself in support of the Opposition.

The Struggle For Democratic Rights

Illusions concerning the Cantonese Kuo Min Tang must be destroyed completely in the minds of the Chinese masses. In this period of capitalist domination of China, but with a ferment constantly deepening among the Chinese masses, the struggle for democratic rights—for free speech, free press, free assemblage, for the right to organize in labor unions and political parties, for the right of legal existence of the Communist Party of China and the Left Opposition, for the convening of a Constituent Assembly, democratically elected, with the extension of the right to participate in the elections of **all workers** and exploited peasants and a safeguarding of their voting rights—such a struggle will help swiftly to disillusion the workers and peasants of China in the new Nationalist Government.

The student demonstrations must be deepened socially and politically against the regime of capitalism itself rather than only its worst manifestations. The proletariat and the Communist Party must be responsible for this task.

There must be demanded an unconditional cessation of the White Terror which has continued unabated. There are other phases of the struggle, but these must be placed in the forefront. This movement must be directed by the Chinese Communist Party, and the Communist International must give it full support. The lessons of 1925-1927 must be learned, not only by the Chinese Communists but by the Communists in every country. In one form or another these questions will arise sharply, as they did in England, in Germany, in Spain, etc. In each instance the Stalinized Comintern failed to permit the development of an independent Communist Party policy that could lead the struggles of the masses.

The Soviet Union and the Imperialists

While the change of regime in China overshadows for the moment the events in Manchuria, nevertheless they must not be overlooked for one instance. The covetuous eyes of American Imperialism note with dismay Japan's swift moves to control Manchuria, and are also apprehensive concerning the situation in China proper. It will work with might and maintain to maintain its influence over the Kuo Min Tang led by the Canton faction, even as it did over Nanking.

The provocations against the Soviet Union by the Japanese and other capitalist powers have not abated, and the Soviet Union is being pressed sorely. As we have said before, the Soviet Union does not want war, but will not indefinitely, assuming a revolutionary proletarian policy on its part, permit itself to be provoked and to be placed in a defensive position. The proletariat does not fear the clash with imperialism. The Soviet Union, as the first fortress of the world revolution, may yet be compelled to take an offensive step in the maintenance of its proletarian power and in furtherance of the international proletarian revolution. It is unfortunate that the Stalinist leadership leads to defeat after defeat of the proletariat, but the Bolshevik core everywhere is gradually asserting its demands for a correct line.

That the imperialists of the world have in mind a concentrated drive against the Soviet Union cannot be doubted. They bide their time and prepare their forces. The Manchurian war is a phase, both of the contradictions between the imperialist powers and a move against the Soviet Union. The visits of Premier Laval of France and Foreign Minister Grandi of Italy are likewise, as is the developing force of Fascism in Germany, before which the Communist Party of Germany with its adopted policy of national socialism is impotent. The **Daily Worker,** reviewng the Manchuran and Chinese events, the war danger, etc., and raising slogans thereon, adds confusion upon confusion with its **36** slogans on the war danger, covering literally every issue before the working class. It makes it more difficult to bring before the workers the essence of the problems both in China and the American workers' duty in the situation.

For Communist Unity

The workers and Communists in the United States have to understand the imperialist aims of American capitalism in China and against the Soviet Union; to demand that American ships and troops get out of China; to realize that the powder of world war is being mixed by the imperialist powers, and an explosion can easily occur. But before all there must be, if our work is to be effective, a repudiation of the Stalinist policies, a clarification of program, strategy and tactics, the reinstatement of the Left Opposition into the ranks of the Comintern, and a unification of all genuine Communist forces. This is the pre-condition of a successful revolutionary struggle.

—MARTIN ABERN.

CORRECTION

In the article on the French C. G. T. U. Congress, printed in the **Militant,** mention is made that the resolution of the Left Opposition received one vote. The voting was not by individuals but by unions, so that the vote represents the vote of a union organization. Further, this refers to the specific resolution introduced by our comrade. In actuality, as the article points, another resolution, which defended the same point of view as ours in the main, received the support of a large group.

Going the Rounds in Moscow

(It is quite understandable why all the jokes that make their way about the Soviet Union and in particular Moscow and Leningrad are of a political nature. There are literally hundreds of them and often they find their way outside of the Russian borders. We publish two forwarded to us by our comrades in Berlin who received them from friends in Russia—Ed.)

* * * *

A Russian peasant paid a visit to comrade Trotsky in his place of exile at Kadikoy, Turkey. While they were fishing together, the peasant turned to Trotsky and began to tell him of the rumors traveling about Moscow.

"Do you know, comrade Trotsky", the peasant said, "they say that you are dead. Is this so?"

Trotsky smiled and replied: "That can't be so, comrade, because if I were dead, I would not be here fishing now."

The peasant thought a moment and then beamed. "I remember now," he said, "they say that Stalin is dead".

To this Trotsky shook his head and answered: "There must be some mistake, comrade. If Stalin were dead, then I would not be forced to live in Turkey".

The peasant appeared troubled and thoughtful. Suddenly he exclaimed, "I remember now, they say that Lenin has come to life."

Trotsky only chuckled and said: "That is an error. If Lenin were to come to life, he would be here fishing with us."

* * * *

In reply to a query of a worker as to the reason for Trotsky's deportation from Russia, one of the officials in the apparatus replied: "You see, comrade, all of our best goods are exported."

FREE SPEECH FIGHT IN DENVER

DENVER, COLO.—Anna Gaims, a speaker for the Denver Nnemployed Council, convicted of holding a street meeting without a license a few weeks ago in police court, was discharged by the county court recently when her conviction was appeaeld by Carle Whitehead, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union. Testimony disclosed that the Unemployed Council and the Communists had held numerous meetings at 21st and Larimer Streets without a permit, but that the police suddenly announced that meetings must be held elsewhere. It was decided to continue with meetings at the old location with the result that several speakers were arrested. The discharge of comrade Gaims is the first result of the fight of the Denver workers to hold meetings when and where they please.

Menace of Fascism Imperils Germany

(Continued from page 1)

ately motivate the Hitler policy.

Unfortunately, this light attitude with regard to German Fascism, this confidence in its inevitable corrosion from within has also been shared by the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany and has served to disorientate many workers along the path of fatalism. There is a wide-spread apathy in the ranks of the proletariat. And this is precisely what accounts for the deadlock between the forces of revolution and reaction in Germany. It is on the basis of such a situation that Bruening is able to remain in power for any length of time.

The official Communist Party, with its utterly false strategy of awaiting the coming into power and the subsequent collapse of Fascism, has become entangled in a net of strangling contradictions—it has attempted to outwit Hitler by imitating his national slogans. "Peoples Revolution", "National and Social liberation of the German people" have been inscribed on the banner of the German Party. The necessity of casting off all this national-socialist rubbish has been gradually if not quickly enough impressed on the Party by reality itself. The prophet of this reawakening is Thaelmann, the leader of the C. P. He writes in an article in the theoretical organ of the Party, **Die Internationale:**

"For every Marxist-Leninist, it should be self-evident, that the first requisite of Communist policy is the **struggle for the winning over of our own class, of the proletariat. Only after we have won over a proletarian majority** for Communism, can we realise the further tasks of attracting the allies of the proletariat in the middle classes to the anti-capitalist front of struggle and thereby create the premises for a popular **revolution in the sense of Marx and Lenin.** Every attempt to distort these principles, every attempt to deny the preponderance of the struggle for our own class, **means a rupure with Marxism, with Leninism".**

The Significance of the Thaelmann Article

It must be added here, that this article is heralded in the Communist press as a sort of revelation. Thaelmann is not, of course, speaking in the abstract. He is attacking mistakes in the past, and he is attacking persons, in the quite customary terms of the Stalinist bureaucracy: The General Line was absolutely correct, it was applied in the wrong manner. It is significant, however, that this time not only the fourth and fifth line functionaries are under fire, but even some of the top leaders, as well.

For the time being, anonymously, under the cover of the Party's oragn for the functionaries, the **Propagandist.** The editors of the **Propagandist** are accused of considering a social democratic coalition government more anti-working class than an **openly Fascist Dictatorship;** they are accused of under-estimating Fascism in the manner of the Social-democrats, of lulling the masses to sleep; they are accused of "sectarian fatalism", etc. It must be stressed once more that the **Propagandist** is the Party organ for the functionaries and consequently the mouthpiece of its highest body. Thaelmann, therefore, appears to mean serious business. Whether this is just another factional maneuver on the part of a Stalin henchman or a really sincere move, remains to be seen. But the situation does demand an ideological rearming of the German Party, in the first place. Any step that would aid it must be welcomed.

Thaelmann does not as yet, despite the correct restating of the principle of winning over the majority of the proletariat, demand that the tactical mistakes be corrected; that serious efforts toward fruitful united front action with the reformist workers be made. In fact, a Breitschield is still allowed to take the initiative to such action without the slightest intention of going through with it. It is true that it is hard for the Party to extricate itself from the octopus hold of its rotten past. But if it realizes the seriousness of conditions, then it will not do for it to conceal the same tactical fallacies under the cloak of a correct statement of principle.

The tactic of the working class united front is at the center of the political scene in Germany. It is a question of Communists reaching the masses over the backs of the decrepit social-democracy and all its centrist by-products—like the newly formed Socialist Labor Party—or **of a victory for reaction that will not stop at the borders of Soviet Russia.** An enormous responsibility rests on the shoulders of the German Communists. Upon their action or inaction depends the fate of the world revolution.

—SAM GORDON.

Swabeck Meetings in St. Louis and Stanton

ST. LOUIS—On Tuesday, December 15, comrade Arne Swabeck spoke in Staunton to an interested audience of 40 miners on the subject of "Unemployment, the 6 hour day and the Communists." The miners listened attentively to comrade Swabeck's explanation of the causes of the present and past crises, the impossibility of a solution under capitalism and the need for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and for a militant working class and Communist Party toward this end. The immediate demands of the six hour day, unemployment insurance, long-term credits to the Soviet Union, etc., were discussed in relation to the ultimate goal.

Questions and discussion took place, and the Stalinists who took the floor were repudiated for their slanders by a miner who said that the workers resented the official party's "splitting tactics".

In St. Louis

The St. Louis meeting on the same subject was even more successful. The audience of workers, party members and sympathizers numbered about 150. The attempts of the Stalinists were even feebler than in Staunton. By their clumpsy attacks on the Left Opposition, they were placed in the ridiculous position which discredited them. Comrade Swabeck spoke for Communism, the American C. P., the Comintern and the Soviet Union and the platform of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition). When the Stalinists attacked what comrade Swabeck said with slander against comrade Trotsky, the workers placed them in the same category with a "scissor-bill" who openly and vehemently defended capitalism. These incidents enabled comrade Swabeck to make even clearer to the workers and party members and sympathizers present the position of the Left Opposition toward the Party.

A large batch of the **Militant** and literature were sold. A number of party members have taken the first correct step by beginning to study the issues in dispute between Stalinism and the Left Opposition. We will continue our work to win the Party members to the platform of the Left Opposition and for the unity of the Communist vanguard.

—T. STAMM.

Perspectives of the Crisis in France

Economic - Social Changes and Prospects

(Continued from previous isue)

Special Factors in French Post-War Crisis

In addition to the relatively slow development of French capitalism in general, based on the relatively high specific importance of a backward rural economy, there were several special factors which came into play during the period after the war, which had the effect of tending to stabilize capitalism and soften the general post-war European crisis.

1. First, the acquisition of Alsace-Lorraine, adding a comparatively highly-developed industrial market, with a substantial wealth in iron ore reserves, steel mills, textile plants, chemicals and certain natural resources such as potash and petroleum.

2. From the standpoint of real physical values, the reparations received from Germany were translated into the actual rehabilitation of the areas in the north and east devastated during the war. This served two purposes: it resulted in the addition of new manufacturing capacity of higher efficiency than the average of old plants, and it provided a market for the French construction, machinery and equipment industries, absorbing a tremendous amount of labor.

3. The financial rebahilitation of the French currency, following a breakdown in the franc from par of 19.3 cents to 2 cents in 1926, was carried through under Poincare on a basis which shifted most of the burden from the grande bourgeoisie to the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie, leaving the former in very strong financial position. The franc was finally stabilized close to 4 cents, which was less than the world purchasing power of the franc.

The petty bourgeoisie lost eighty per cent. of its savings in gold value, by the lowering of the fixed value of the franc from 20 cents to 4. On the other hand, the grande bourgeoisie, including the banks, was busy depositing its francs abroad (exporting its capital) during the inflation time. As a result, they maintained a much lower proportion of the gold values of their finance capital. In addition, by 1927 the currency had been well stabilized, by number of simple methods: an increase in taxation to balance the budgdet, the refunding of one to three month Government bills by two-year bills, some reduction of the debt of the State to the Banque de France, the creation of a separate organization to handle short-term bills, and the accumulation of interest-bearing resources in the form of foreign bank balances in bills to offset the floating debt of the French government. By this time, French capitalists were ready to repatriate their foreign balances, naturally in gold. The larger part of these balances represented the proceeds of the expropriation of the petty bourgeoisie through the writing-down of the value of his savings by 80%.

As a result, French banking gold reserves, which had never been over $900,000,000 before the war, have increased to current levels around $2,500,000,000. At the same time, the inflation of note issues during the period of currency depreciation 1919-1926 was never fully reduced down to a figure in keeping with the general deflation program. Even during the course of 1930, while all the world was busy deflating bank credits and note circulation, the amount of French francs in circulation increased by 10 billions.

As a result, prices expressed in paper francs remained high during the post-inflation stabilization, and actually increased from 1929 to 1930 contrary to the tendency in the rest of the world. This meant, in effect, a lower wage to the French worker, measured by actual purchasing power; a wage cut for 1930 against 1929 and a lower wage measured although concealedly an upward movement in French money wages, whether measured in paper francs or gold.

The following figures will illustrate this, in terms of pre-war prices as 100:

		Paper Franc Index	Gold Franc Index
French wages, except Paris	1929	685	137
	1930	732	146.5
French Wages, in Paris	1929	624	125
	1930	668	134

Compared with the 1930 figures for France, English wages averaged 15% of the pre-war in sheltered trades, and 162 in unsheltered. The comparison is even worse for the French worker because of his longer hours and lesser social welfare benefits. The French worker was therefore being defrauded of part of the redistribution of income as always during an inflationary period, while the hangover of inflation from the 1927 stabilization and a mild increase during 1930 helped maintain the appearance of industrial prosperity, again as usual in an inflationary situation. To the extent indicated, part of this prosperity was based on the manipulation of inflation against the French working class.

However, like all inflation, the temporary advantages thus given tend to disappear. The figures just cited show that part of the advantage given to the French industrialist by inflation and high prices is being absorbed by the accompanying increase in cost of living and consequently, under conditions of effective trade-union resistance, in higher wages.

To this has been added the sharp increase in tariff protection for agricultural products mentioned above. This is likewise a concealed attack on the standard of living of the French worker, but under present conditions of a growing industrial crisis within France, the economic class struggle is loaded to the strategic advantage of the French capitalist, who is now in position to carry through a more aggressive program of wage-cutting in view of the increasing unemployment.

At the end of October, 1931, the official reports listed 56,121 unemployed against 38,524 in September, 36,000 in August, an average of 2,433 for all of 1930 and an average of only 909 for 1929. French official unemployment figures are notoriously a cruel joke. Even Leon Blum stated recently that he believed the number of fully unemployed in France (Sept. 1931) totalled 650,000, not to mention 2,500,000 partly employed. A bourgeois statistical service, the Bulletin de la Societe d'Etudes et des Informations Financieres, considers these figures too high, but admits a decline of 8.4% in the number of employees in factories representing about a third of all the workers of France, and also that 33% are working on short-time, which would make the latter group total about 2,000,000. As far back as May, 1931, the Labor Office reported 350,000 fully unemployed and 1,000,000 on part time.

Perspectives

These are the first effects of the deepening crisis on the status of the worker in France. The unstable equilibrium of post-war France, based on a backward rural economy restraining the development and the contradictions of a country with a growing industrial bourgeoisie, has been definitely tipped over, now that France produdces more steel than England or Germany, to take one index. The financial juggling whereby a carefully-judged degree of inflation was able to maintain industrial activity is no longer possible, as witness the contraction of banking credit and the decline in wholesale and retail prices.

It seems reasonable to expect that the full force of the crisis has not yet been felt in France, and that the specific reasons decribed above for its delay will not operate to soften the intensity of the crisis from this point on. It is entirely possible that the crisis may continue to grow in intensity even while a vicious campaign of wage-cuts in other countries may have restored the profits, and consequently the incentive to produce, of capitalists in other countries. The great relative financial strength of France will not ward off such a crisis, any more than it did in the United States.

To what extent are the workers of France, and particularly the most militant section of them, those who gather around the banner of Communism, prepared for the inevitable sharpening of the class struggle? The effects of the Stalinist trade-union policy are as clearly marked in France as elsewhere; the reformists of the C. G. T. are capitalizing the mistakes of the C. G. T. U., increasing their relative strength, and preparing for the inevitable capitulations and compromises of their kind.

At a time when united resistance by the working class to the attacks on its living standards by the capitalists is more essential than ever, the Left Opposition must clearly set forth the essentials of a Leninist trade-union policy, based on the correctly-applied united front.

In the political field, a perspective of a different kind is indicated as one of the probable variants. Should capitalism meet with an energetic and correctly-guided working class resistance to its increasingly desperate efforts to solve the crisis at the cost of the workers, another alternative would be open to it, an attack on the small peasant proprietor and on the small tenant and farm laborer, through such means as the breaking-down of the tariff wall and the opening of French market on a competitive basis to world producers of foodstuffs. This would mean a political struggle against a strongly-entrenched section of the petty bourgeoisie and a sharp awakening of the self-sufficient isolated peasant to the fact that he too, is in danger of impoverishment for the benefit of the capitalist class. These possibilities may not be immediate, but they raise broad questions of revolutionary strategy which cannot be solved by a mechanical transfer of formulas and slogans from other historical settings where the agrarian problem is less closely combined with ownership and coexists with a highly developed capitalism.

—B. J. FIELD.

Mooney Protest Growing

Protests from various sources demanding the unconditional release of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings are on the increase. The Minneapolis Central Labor Union, representing organized labor, recently passed a resolution to this effect and denounced the capitalist forces responsible for the frame-up and imprisonment of Mooney and Billings. The pressure from the working class of Minneapolis and the State of Minnesota on behalf of Mooney and Billings is so strong that the Governor of Minnesota, Floyd B. Olson, and the Mayor of Minneapolis, William A. Anderson, a few weeks ago sent letters to Governor James olph, Jr. of California, asking that the two victims of capitalist justice be released.

On December 7 the Metal Trades Council of St. Louis and vicinity, representing 15,000 organized unionists, demanded the immediate release and unconditional pardon of Mooney.

From various parts of the country resolutions are pouring in upon Governor Rolph on behalf of the two labor prisoners.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR

Reviews and News of the Working Class and Revolutionary Movements

The British Scene

National Goverment in Sharp Attack On the Workers' Standards

We can now turn to the present position in England: one that arises directly from the conditions outlined in the preceding article.

The National Government, returned by a majority of voters at the General Election, is now in an extremely strong position: its huge majority in the House of Commons guarantees for the ruling class a constitutional cover for all their activities against the workers. Whatever measures are "necessary"; however strongly the Government may attack the workers' movement; however great the misery and suffering inflicted upon the workers by the policy of the Government; all can be done in the name of "democracy", since the Government is constitutionally elected, was given a free hand by the majority of the electors, and, whilst wielding the iron hand of the capitalist dictatorship, can conceal it beneath the silken glove of parliamentary democracy.

What does the immediate future threaten? Not Fascism, as some would appear to believe: that can, and perhaps will, come in England, but only when Parliamentary Government no longer has the support of the middle-class and sections of the working class. Those obsessed with the possibility of Fascism are apt to overlook the problems of the present, the correct handling of which will, in advance, help to decide the tempo of England's advance to Fascism.

National Government Lowers Workers' Standards

The policy of the National Government is one of wage-reductions, tariffs bringing higher prices, inflation, and a ruthless reduction in the number of unemployed drawing benefit. Part of this program has been realized already: the wages of Civil Servants, teachers, and of the armed forces have been reduced; the benefit of the unemployed has been cut and in one week alone, out of eighty thousand workers brought before the authorities, seventy thousand have been removed from the unemployed exchange register and from benefit altogether.

The resistance to this attack offered by some sections of the working class has been dealt with in no uncertain manner: twenty-four sailors have been dismissed from the navy for their part in the mutiny of the Atlantic Fleet; all meetings have been stopped outside Labor Exchanges, a ruling enforced by the batoning and imprisonment of numbers of unemployed. The attack on conditions has begun and any assistance by the workers is to be crushed with all the force the employers can command.

Against such an attack resistance can and will be offered by many sections of the workers and in the only way possible—strike action. But such strike action must be general and widespread, for the old sectional methods of struggle can play no effective role in the present period. A sectional struggle, as a means of developing widespread strike action, certainly: but not the old long-drawn-out-certain-to-be-defeated strike of which we have experienced so much in the last few years.

Such action however demands careful preparation and considerable agitation. A widespread strike can develop, of course, without this preliminary preparation, but only under such circumstances as will ensure its crushing defeat. General strike action, with a leadership prepared to face up to, and prepare for, all the implications of such a struggle — this idea must be spread amongst the workers.

Prepare For Struggles

The General Strike of 1926 was lead, and to some extent, organized by the Trade Union leaders. It represented an attempt to meet the new conditions with machinery and ideas which had grown up under old and very different conditions. The Union leaders were more or less forced into the struggle by the employers. Faced with the need for revolutionary mass struggle against the State, the Union leaders could only capitulate at the earliest possible opportunity. From then onwards the reformists could only follow the path of American Trade Unionism and advocate collaboration with the employers as against the alternative of revolutionary struggle. To expect such leaders, men who have betrayed every strike that has taken place during the last five years, to lead and organize a mass struggle against the present attack is foolish and unwarranted.

The recent struggle of a section of the Postal Workers shows what role the union leaders will play. The Manchester Postmen carried on a "go slow" strike; two of the leaders were suspended: the union executive protested at the suspension but only on the grounds that there was no inquiry carried through first before the men were suspended. They then got the struggle called off on the grounds that it injured the chances of successful negotiations.

New leadership, new forms of organization, revolutionary ideas and revolutionary action are necessary in order to wage effective struggle under present day conditions.

Such a leadership can only come from the Communist Party, always providing that its policy is a correct one. The increase in the membership of the party during the past few weeks shows that, to thousands of workers, it stands out as the revolutionary leadership which alone can wage effective struggle against the employers' attack and ultimately achieve the conquest of power.

London —ANGLICUS.

(To be continued)

WAR CHIEF ADMITS FAILURE AGAINST REDS

NANKING, Nov. 10 (Fenprecor)—To fight the "Red Armies" of Kiangsi Province, it is necessary to fight the people—and in this the Communist Extermination troops of the Kuo Min Tang have failed after eight months' ceaseless campaigning. Such is the gist of a report made here today by General Ho-Ying-Ching, minister of war in the Nanking government.

Two hundred thousand troops, General Ho reported, have been marching and counter-marching since last May and the announced objective "extermination of the Red Menace"—is as far off as ever. General Ho minimized. Nanking sent more than 300,000 into Kiangsi, including some of the best fighting regiments at the command of the government. For three months during the early summer they were led by Chiang Kai-Shek in person who directed operations from Nanking.

The War Miister revealed in his report that the inhabitants of the 'bandit-ridden" areas gave their wholehearted support to the "bandits" and that "the government troops find it extremely difficult to obtain the assistance of the people in securing food or in the transportation of their ammunition and military equipment". He expresses optimism, however, over the fact that "the Communists are being driven towards complete destruction". This is being accomplished, he states, not by the government troops but because "diseases of epidemic proportions have broken out in their camps and because of lack of medical help many are perishing. With the approach of the cold winter their hardships are steadily growing worse as very few of the bandits have winter clothing."

General Ho, commander of the forces which for nearly a year have been waging open warfare on millions of Chinese peasants, sagely concludes his report with the statement that "the trouble has been caused by the frequency of internal warfare and the remedy is the cessation of all civil fighting and the restoration of peace in the country."

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In India

The Significance of Kashmir

For the last few weeks the British Press and especially **The Times** have devoted enormous space to Kashmir, an Indian State. The Round Table Conference, which, on the surface looks far more important and is supposed to decide the future destinies of India, almost passed unnoticed, and has lately been relegated to a page principally devoted to Squash Rackets and Association Football. Kashmir is in the north of India. It is important as it guards one of the approaches to India on the North West Frontier. It forms an excellent air base from which to wage war against the U. S. S. R. Kashmir is the famous health resort of the **English in India.** In it oil lies hidden.

When the former ruler of Kashmir, the Maharajah Partap Singh, was told that there was oil in his state he said, succinctly, "Let it remain there." He knew that the moment oil wells were sunk the control as well as the profits would have to be passed to the British and that the best thing was to keep quiet about it. The oil yet lies unexploited and as the British Empire is deficient in oil the British are naturally anxious to get hold of it.

There were two candidates for the throne of Kashmir after Partap Singh died. One of them, who was backed by the British Government, unfortunately for the British could not secure the throne and thus made the way clear for the present ruler, who, though a great favourite of Partap Singh never found favour with the British.

Maharajah Hari Singh, the present ruler, was one of the representatives of the Princes at the last Round Table Conference. In the course of his speech at that Conference he said: "We are Indians first and Princes afterwards." The British Government must have noted this sentence carefully. Hari Singh seems to have had a very short memory. Had he so quickly forgotten the fate of his neighbour the Amir Ammanullah of Afghanistan? Ammanullah's defiance of British authority cost him his throne. The ruler of Kashmir is even more dependent upon the British than was Ammanullah.

The British are a very clever people and they have not forgotten the Indian War of Independence of 1857 (known to the British as the Indian Mutiny) and they will never again take steps against the Indian Princes in such a way as to antagonise the masses. They will only interfere when they profess to champion the cause of the Indian subjects, though in reality to gain a concession which they have long coveted.

Living Conditions In Kashmir

Such at present is the case in Kashmir. We do not pretend to be the champions of Hari Singh, who is an oppressor. In a few years the iron boom of the proletariat will make a clean sweep of him. Kashmir State was a creation of the British and when they go it, too, will disappear. The overwhelming population of Kashmir, as throughout India consists of peasants, but with this difference, that in Kashmir, 90% are Moslems. The peasant all over India including Kashmir is burdened by the debts he owes to the moneylender and the rent he owes to the landlord. The agrarian crisis has made his condition still worse. Life in a Kashmir village is worse than hell. The houses are of mud; there is no ventilation, and often the whole family sleeps in one room. There is no water, no sanitation. The men have nothing but the loincloth they wear, and the women their saris. Only an infinitesimal proportion of the population can read or write, although we are told that recently a few primary schools have been opened. No wonder there is a popular agitation against the Maharajah who is notorious throughout Europe as "Mr. A."

The point we are concerned to press is that the British Government have used the agitation against Hari Singh to further their own ends. They have provided leaders to the movement, men who are prepared to lick the shoes of the British Government at any time. That is why the agitation has been allowed to continue so long. The attitude of the correspondent of the **Times,** who is always an official of the Government shows the hostility of the British towards Hari Singh.

About the **jathas,** (groups of volunteers), who were invading Kashmir **The Times** correspondent says: "They are splendidly loyal people who supplied the best troops in the British Expeditionary Force and will not have any dealings with the Congress crowd."

Two or three weeks ago **jathus** began to march into Kashmir. The British Government knew it was a breach of the treaty between Great Britain and Kashmir, but it did not interfere. **The Times** correspondent in the same issue which I quoted above, (viz. 4-11-31) remarks: "The present situation was by no means unforeseen."

Britian Wants Kashmir's Oil

From **The Times** we learn that "a committee of inquiry has now been appointed by the Government of India, no doubt with the Maharajah's full consent" as if the Maharajah had any consent to give "to deal with Moslem demands." The invading **jathas** demanded that the British should appoint a British minister to the State. The Maharajah had to do so. With the appointment of the British minister also entered the British army and occupied Jammu, the winter capital of Kashmir. A few days afterwards **The Times** correspondent stated: "There is the delicate question of how long Jammu and other points are to be occupied by the British troops." He argues that if the British army leave Jammu the whole Moslem population would follow. From today's news we learn that the Moslem leaders are sending telegrams to the Viceroy not to withdraw the British army. We need not indicate who these Moslems are.

We should not be surprised if the British remained in Jammu permanently. Nearly two years ago it was published in the British Press that Jammu was for sale. The Maharajah of Kashmir denied it, but the news was not without foundation, as its source was the India Office.

Jammu is not the only thing for which the British Government is aiming. There also remains the hidden oil. Hindu-Moslem tension is always fostered by the divine power at the very moment when the Indian National Congress is meeting at Karachi or the Round Table Conference in London. The whole atmosphere in Kashmir has been created while the Round Table Conference is meeting so that as few concessions as possible may be granted to the Indian capitalists. The British are, from long experience, masters of the game of "divide and rule." If they want to remain in India it is essential that they play off one community against another or one class against another. Pursuing this policy they have ingenuously diverted the growing discontent of the Punjab peasantry, due to the agrarian crisis, into a Hindu-Moslem feud. Kashmir has become the centre of this maneuver, and the target of the peasants' anger.

A few days ago the two sons of the Nizam of Hyderabad, another Indian Prince, married the daughters of the ex-Khalif of Turkey. The Nizam is a very rich prince who can (and does) squander a few millions of pounds at a time. The result of this marriage may be that upon the death of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the Nizam's son, supported by the British, will be declared the rightful heir to the throne of Turkey. The India Office in London is already busy collecting all possible information and material with regard to Turkey.

Britain Supports Pan-Islamic Movement in India

There is a good deal of talk about the friendship between the British and the Moslems. The British Government has given its full support to the Pan-Islamic movement in India. In the Nizam's son, who may one day be declared the Chalif of Islam they may find a nominal head for the Pan-Islamic movement.

Such a movement will not only create a still wider gulf between the two communities in India but will also prolong the life of British Imperialism. A successful Pan-Islamic movement might also become a great danger against the U. S. S. R. as Turkey is next door to U. S. S. R.

These are the dangers which lie at the bottom of the Kashmir affair. The whole movement is led by the leaders of the Pan-Islamic movement. Jammu is in easy reach of the other countries, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, etc., and therefore the occupation of Jammu is a most significant act. This clearly shows that British Imperialism is based upon "divide and rule" whether it is in India, Cyprus or Palestine. This old principle, the British are employing in a new way and we must warn our readers to recognize this coming danger and be ready to counterbalance the movement.

London, Nov. 11, 1931 —"A".

FRENCH EVICT CHINESE

SHANGHAI, Nov. 15—(Fenprecor)—More than 1,000 poverty-stricken Chinece occupying mudhuts along Soccawei Creek-bordering on the French Concession here, have been ordered to vacate by the French police. Two weeks is the time limit set on their evacuation under threats of forcible steps being taken to demolish the miserable hovels in which the people were seeking to achieve some protection against the coming winter.

"Civically" minded social welfare groups have raised a proteest to the authorities—not demanding housing improvements—but merely asking that the paupers be permitted to remain where they are! An appeal was made to the local Kuo Min Tang branch which replied—"We will see what we can do."

HANKOW COMMUNISTS EXECUTED

HANKOW, Nov. 9 (Fenprecor)—Ten Communists were summarily and publicly executed here today on the public square after "court martial" by the Hankow Garrison Headquarters.

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Persecution of the Left Oppositionists

(Continued from page 1)

ber of the Bolshevik Party since 1910; member of the Petrograd Party Committee during the February revolution, participated actively in the October insurrection.

Comrades Dingelstedt, Soluzev, Stopalov, Jakovin and Elzin are all old Party members. All of them have written independent scientific Marxian works on economic and historical questions. They are no ordinary writers; they are the young theoreticians of the Left Opposition. But their theoretical work was always tied up with political struggle. After the end of the civil war they exchanged rifle for the book, to exchange it again for the rifle when the interests of Communism demanded it.

Victor Borisovitch Elzin joined the Party in 1917, and participated in the preparation and execution of the insurrection of October in Perm. In 1918 he was chairman of the executive committee of the Viatka Government. In 1919 and 1920 he was active on the Eastern front. After the liquidation of the Kolcsak adventure he worked as an economist. From 1922 on he attended sessions at the Institute of Red Professors and ended his studies in 1926. Since 1923 he has belonged to the Opposition and was one of its leading workers in Moscow, until his exile. He edited the collected works of Trotsky. Exiled in January, 1928 by Stalin, he has been in prison since 1929.

We ought to say a few words here about the whole **Elzin** family. **Boris Michailovitch Elzin,** father of Victor Elzin, is one of the very old Bolsheviks, and went through imprisonment and exile under the Czar. He is one of the leaders of the Opposition. He signed the first platform document of the Opposition, the so-called "Statement of the Forty-Six", which became the center of the 1923 discussion. **B. M. Elzin** was arrested in Summer of 1929 and has been imprisoned ever since, completely isolated, entirely alone in the Sudal jail.

Joseph Elzin, the second son of B. M. Elzin, has been in exile for more than two years in Old Crimea. He has tuberculosis in its most acute form, and the doctors assume that it means death unless his manner of living is not changed. A fourth member of this family of revolutionaries, the daughter, **B. M. Elzina,** is in exile in Siberia. The whole Elzin family is therefore not only under lock and key under the Stalin regime, but its members have been torn apart from each other.

Man Newelson—member of the Party since 1914; a Party worker since the beginning of the February revolution, active in the Communist youth organization of Petrograd, a member of the Red Guard during the October insurrection. From the beginning of 1918 to the middle of 1920 comrade Newelson fought in the Red Army, as regimental commissar, divisional political commissar and chairman of the Political department of the army. In economic work since 1923; already then a member of the Opposition. In exile since January 1928; in prison since the middle of 1929, first in Tobolsk, then in Verchne-Uralsk.

J. M. Posnansky—member of the Party since 1917, and an active participant in the October insurrection in Petersburg. At the front throughout the whole civil war; particularly as cavalry inspector at the Southern front he successfully organized the mounted forces there; wounded. In 1921 he fought before Kronstadt for the dictatorship of the proletariat. After the end of the civil war and until his exile comrade Posnansky was Trotsky's secretary (see "My Life"). Arrested in February 1928 and sent North by the G. P. U. for his attempt to follow Trotsky to Alma-Ata. In prison since 1930.

Vladimir Ivanovitch Reschetnitchenke—member of the Party since 1917. Military worker and hero of the civil war (decorated with the Order of the Red Banner); Military Academy.

Musja Magid—member of the Party Party since 1917. She worked illegally in the Ukraine at the time of the struggle with Denikin. In prison for flight from exile.

Surnov—old Party member; until his exile, Commissar for Agriculture of the Crimean Republic.

These brief items naturally give only a part of the revolutionary activities of the comrades named, but they give an idea of the "Verchne-Uralskers" as a type of Bolshevik revolutionary. They took part in the October insurrection; they took part in the civil war; they were economic or scientific workers after the victory at the various fronts; they struggled for seven years against the Stalinist revision of Marxism and Leninism; exiled, and jailed. Always and under all circumstances courageous and devoted without limit to the cause without a thought for themselves.

The Left Opposition in Switzerland

The Left Opposition of the Communist Party of Switzerland arose in Spring of this year out of the Communist fraction of the Marxist Student's Group of Zurich. In this group there had been heated discussions between Left Oppositionists and the comrades of the "general line", in the course of which we laid our platform before the Party. Later we by no means limited ourselves to discussions, but reached workers and Party members through the sale of Oppositionist literature.

On Easter Youth Day we sold comrade Trotsky's pamphlets at the Party celebration. The Party bureaucracy was caught unawares, but by the end of the celebration, when we had sold all our pamphlets, we were insulted by some functionaries as "counter-revolutionaries" and threatened with violence. After these events we were expelled from the Swiss Party.

We refused to be scared and continued our activity, distributing literature, carrying on discussions with workers, and after we had gained a few sympathizers, we began to hold public lectures and forums. The first lecture on "Fascism and Social-fascism" passed without disturbance; the "general line" was silent. At the second lecture, on the "Trade Union Question", an unsuccessful attempt was made to disturb the meeting. Our third meeting, on the "Theory of Socialism in One Country" was broken up by the appearance of numerous "comrades of the general line" under the leadership of a cantonal councillor (!) The Stalinists were able to carry through their lecture "Against Trotskyism" only after they had cleared us Oppositionists **by force** out of the hall. The next time they tried it again, but failed; we left the hall and finally continued our lectures elsewhere without further disturbance. This was the end of the comedy, for the time being. Our next lecture, "On the Situation in the Swiss Communist Party", was received in a disciplined manner, although the majority of the audience were regular Party members. The same was true of the following lecture on "The German Situation". So far, we have won.

By this time we had made up our minds to reach a wider audience of Party members and workers, and from time to time to mimeograph and sell our lectures. In this way we published an essay on "Fascism and Social-fascism", which was well received. On August 1st we distributed a leaflet among the Party members which increased the tension between us and the Party. Our first newspaper contributed further to the tension.

Publish Newspaper

We decided not to publish single articles, but to get out a newspaper which should publish in each issue one fairly long article and a number of shorter items. The "Newspaper of the Left Opposition of the Communist Party of Switzerland" is the title of our organ.

The first issue of the **Newspaper,** which appeared in August, was devoted to the situation in the Swiss Communist Party, and helped make us known among the workers throughout Switzerland.

The **Kaempfer,** the Communist Party paper in Zurich, could find nothing to answer except a few provocatory sentences, in which it vilified us as "agents and accomplices of the bourgeoisie". The **Arbeiter-Zeitung,** the Right Opposition paper in Schaffhausen, took notice of us in a cleverer way, but just as stupidly in essence.

The calm of the Party press however does not at all reflect the real feelings of the Party. Many Party comrades were undoubtedly stimulated to think by our paper. The Party mandarins are trying to work up a pogrom feeling against us, threaten us with blows, etc. The real feelings of the members of the party will be shown by future events.

In the meantime, the second issue of our **Newspaper** has appeared, in which we state our position on the German situation. We have grown a little, a few workers have joined our group, improving its purely intellectual social composition.

Composed of Young Comrades

We are all young comrades, and therefore for the next period will go out after the youth, first of all; the Communist and the Socialist youth organizations, other youth groups, etc. Definite Oppositionist tendencies are noticeable in the Communist youth organization, and we shall not delay in encouraging them. The same is true of the Socialist youth organization, which has several hundred members. Recently we spoke at one of their meetings, issued a leaflet for the Socialist youth, and made a good impression on them. "If we become Communist at all, then we shall become Left Communists", we have often heard them say. We also have sympathetic contacts among the "Free Sport Group", a youth sport organization.

In this way we shall continue our activity, for the time being. We hope and feel sure that, if we do our work intelligently, in the course of the coming winter we shall create a substantial, firmly-organized section of the International Opposition. We shall continue to report on our activities in the **International Bulletin.** We ask those comrades who wish to find out more about us, to order our newspaper through the International Secretariat, and will send it regularly by mail.

Zurich, Switzerland

—WALTER NELZ.

EDITORIAL NOTES

THE DOWNFALL OF THE VOLKSZEITUNG

The retirement of Ludwig Lore from the editorship of the **New York Volkszeitung** signallizes the passing of the paper from the Right fringe of the Communist movement to the camp of social democracy. Dr. Lipshitz, the new editor, comes from the German Social Democartic Party and owes his election to the triumph of the Right wing socialist elements in the cooperative association which owns the paper. The new policy of the **Volkszeitung** reflects the decisive change. Half-and-half Communism which in this case—as always—prepared the way for outright socialist reformism is finally replaced by it.

This reactionary victory is a tragedy for the paper that spoke for the workers over many decades, not without effectiveness at times and not without honor on some crucial occasions when other organs faltered and betrayed their trust. It is likewise a tragedy for the man who stood at the helm and reflected in his own person the qualities of the **Volkszeitung** throughout those turbulent years. Ludwig Lore was the **Volkszeitung.** Its strong sides and its weak sides, its inconsistencies, its good intentions and its frequently dubious performances were of one piece with the personality of the man. The shift of control puts an end to the contradiction in the position of the paper. In the long run the change will help to clarify issues that have been muddled and confused in the German-American labor movement. The immediate effect will be to strengthen the reformist and reactionary elements.

The downfall of the **Volkszeitung** demonstrates once again, by an example close at hand, the instability and the transitory nature of in-between positions in our time. Since the world war the issue and the choice between social democracy and Communism has stood categorically. Nobody has been able to stand between them or to reconcile them. And nobody will. Lore's **Volkszeitung** aspired toward Communism. But it was never able to make the clean and final break with the routine, the traditions and the material interests that weighted it toward the past. The paper was bound up—through the shareholding cooperative and in a hundred other ways—with those sections of the German movement for whom socialism had long ceased to be a doctrine of action. Their deadly conservatizing influence was upon the paper all the time, paralyzing it at every turn with contradiction and confusion. The result was a mish-mash policy—to the right of official Communism and to the Left of social democracy. Such a position, by its nature and by the nature of our epoch, can have only a transitory influence.

The exceptional personality of Lore endowed this policy with an abnormal endurance. But the life of the paper was fraught with continual crisis and a final show-down was inevitable. The speed with which this show-down came after the retirement of Lore from the editorship shows how shaky was the political foundation of the paper. In these events the similar doom of other political movements of the same kind is foreshadowed. The "left" socialists (such as the Musteites) and the Right Communists (such as the Lovestone faction) which—in different degrees and under somewhat different circumstances—repeat the experience of the **Volkszeitung** are marching towards the same fate. The middle ground between Communism and social democracy is quicksand.

The personal defeat of Ludwig Lore in the ruin of the paper which was his life is sad to contemplate. Among Communists, for whom political considerations are the decisive criterion, personal relations play a part that is necessarily subordinate. In that sense and for that reason we do not speak here as a friend. We went part of the way together, but our paths were not the same. In recent years they diverged more and more. But for all that we never lost a regard for the admirable personal qualities of the man. Among the people who have acquired prominence in the revolutionary labor movement of our day he has been distinguished by an integrity and dignity that is all too uncommon. He was not one of the office boys who take orders, not one of the scamps who slander for hire and advance themselves by intrigue. In his rebellion against the regime which elevates this **canaille** Lore showed the character of a man and a fighter. In that fight we had common ground with him. It was his failure to bring the right political weapons to the fight that marked off his course from ours. And from this also arises his present political defeat.

HOW THEY PLAY WITH THE GREAT SLOGANS

The slogans of the Opposition travel a uniform course in the Communist International. First they are denounced as counter-revolutionary; then they are smuggled into the official policy in mutilated form and misapplied. This is happening now to the slogan advanced nearly two years ago by comrade Trotsky for economic collaboration between the capitalist countries and the Soviet Union and the extension of long-term credits. A great deal of ink was spilled in demonstrating the counter-revolutionary nature of this slogan. It was hailed on more than one occasion as the final proof of the "complete renegacy of the Trotskyites". Now things are beginning to loak a little different. The logic of the situation has again collided with the official policy. They are again beginning, in a cautious, surreptitious back-door manner, to appropriate an idea from the Opposition. We hear more and more talk about the necessity of credits to the Soviet Union.

In the **New York Herald Tribune** for December 11th there appeared a letter from the "Friends of the Soviet Union", signed by the national secretary, Marcel Scherer. Among other things it says the following:

"The Friends of the Soviet Union today are working for the immediate recognition of the Soviet government by the United States government, free trade relations **and the extension of credits. This would bring vast Soviet orders to American factories—at the rate of $1,000,000 of orders daily—and would give employment to hundreds of thousands of unemployed workers."** (Our emphasis).

That argument—as far as it goes—is unassailable. The trouble with it is that it presents only one side of the question, it is put forward by an improper agency and it is directed to the wrong address. The slogan should be addressed to the workers, rather than to the bourgeois press. It should be put forward by the party, instead of a cover organization the chief function of which is to provide a hunting ground for careerists and false friends of the Soviet Union who will desert it at the first sign of real danger. And it should emphasize also the need of the Soviet Union for economic collaboration with the advanced capitalist countries—enforced by the demand of the workers—in order that it may build its industry quickly and thus strengthen the economic foundations of the workers' rule.

To appeal to the workers for a slogan of long-term credits on the ground of their own immediate material interest in the alleviation of unemployment is quite correct. Its practicality in this respect can be easily demonstrated. And such an appeal to the material interest of the workers will move them faster, and in far greater numbers, than a thousand abstract arguments about the defense of the Soviet Union. But to develop the political implications of the movemnt and to strengthen its international spirit it is necessary to show to the workers that by helping themselves they are also helping the workers of the Soviet Union. This is the way to strengthen the bonds of internationalism; to make the workers feel that they are participating in the great economic advances of the Workers' state, not merely watching them from the sidelines. By presenting the slogan of the Opposition in its double aspect, and organizing a proletarian mass movement around it, the workers will begin to identify their own welfare with the fate of the Soviet Union. This is the chief aim and the chief value of the slogan.

O course, one cannot talk in this straightforward and Marxist manner while the workers are being deluded with the fiction that Russia can build socialism alone without any outside help. It is this harmful fiction that stands in the way of a genuine application of the slogan and the organization of a great international movement around it. That is why it is sneaked in, distorted and then promulgated in a polite letter to the bourgeois press by a worthless substitute organization which—out of "friendship" for the Soviet Union—ought to be abolished.

But that is the way they do things. That is the way they play with the great slogans. But in spite of that the slogan of economic collaboration and long-term credits corresponds to reality. Its timeliness grows more obvious with every accentuation of the unemployment situation in the capitalist countries and the increasing difficulties in Soviet economy, which arise in part from the world economic crisis of capitalism. For that reason it will make its way through all machinations. The "counter-revolutionary slogan of Trotskyism" must and will become one of the international slogans of the Communist workers.

A RACE WITH TIME

Police frame-ups are an integral part of American labor history, as everybody knows. Throughout the numerous repititions of this phase of the class struggle the same general pattern has appeared again and again. This applies both to the prosecutions and the defense movements against them. The present case of the New York Marine Workers, in all of its aspects, presents more and more the old familiar picture. It struck the movement like a bombshell. In the first days of panic the frame-up gang seemed to have everything their own way. Then a defense movement began; it gained momentum; and now its forces grow from day to day. But the scales are still weighted heavily on the side of the frame-up conspirators of the ruling class. The question: who will prevail? remains undecided.

In all this there is nothing new. We have seen it all before in almost every detail. Even the slowness of the general labor public to recognize that it is not a "criminal case", but a direct blow at the organized labor movement, has many historic precedents.

In a chapter of Emma Goldman's autobiography she recounts the early history of the Mooney case—a story that is familiar to old-timers in the militant labor movement, but probably new to many. In the first and most critical days the official labor movement, the conservatives, the respectables, the liberals and the faint-hearts, would have nothing to do with Mooney. He was charged with dynamiting, and they fled in terror from the issue.

It remained for a mere handful of radicals to organize and lead the fight. The others followed, but they did not come in time. If Mooney's escape from the gallows was due to the handful of militants who defended his cause against the world—and that is the indubitable fact—then the delay in organizing a great mass movement of defense, and the pussy-footing policies later introduced into it, were and remain responsible for his long imprisonment.

We face the same developments and the same dangers in the case of Soderberg, Bunker, and Trajer—the union workers who have been selected as the victims in the New York "dynamite plot". They are no longer deserted and alone. The influence of their appeal gains ground from day to day. The militant activity of the Defense Committee is putting their case on the agenda of the labor movement. The blackguards and scoundrels who attacked the helpless prisoners in the first days of their arrest—who spread poisonous slanders against them in order to paralyze their defense—are being driven to cover. The honest and class-conscious elements in all workers' organizations are asserting themselves in favor of a united movement to defend the victims of the frame-up.

The greatest danger now is that the widespread and militant movement of labor protest, which alone can save them, will come too late. As in all the cases which the labor movement has known it is a race with time. Every day sees new forces recruited for the fight. But every day likewise draws us nearer to the trial where the scales will be tipped decisively one way or the other.

The labor movement of America has spoken out loud on many occasions against the frame-up system. But all too often this protest has been deferred until the prosecution has gained the advantage of a conviction on perjured evidence. This was the case with Mooney and Billings. It was the case with Sacco and Vanzetti, and all too many others. Let us hope it will not be the fate of Soderberg, Bunker, and Trajer.

The great task in protecting the labor movement from this heavy blow is to speed up the fight, to extend it on all fronts and unite all forces. Then it will be a movement for victory instead of a protest against defeat.

—J. P. C.

New York Open Forum

NEW YORK—"The Soviet Union and the World Crisis" was discussed by comrade J. P. Cannon at the New York Forum of the Communist League of America (Opposition) at the Labor Temple last Friday. Many Party members were present and a lively question and discussion period ensued.

Since Christmas and New Year each fall on Friday, the Open Forum has been postponed for two weeks. The Forums will be resumed again on **Friday, January 8th, 1931, at 8 P. M.** at the **Labor Temple, 2nd Ave. & 14th Street.** The speaker and subject will be announced in a few days.

CHINA'S SILK INDUSTRY STAGNANT SHANGHAI, (Fenprecor). The silk filature industry here remains in a condition of chronic stagnation. Of 106 filatures in this city, which is the main centre of the China industry, only 25, employing less than 10,000 workers, are functioning at the present time, all others having suspended operations.

Nearly 50,000 filature workers are unemployed and suffering great hardships. The China silk industry has been effectively throttled by Japanese competition and the boycott has afforded no relief.

Young Spartacus can be purchased at all newsstands, bookstores, meetings, etc. where **The Militant** is now sold. If you are unable to get a copy at these places, write to **Young Spartacus,** 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

Attention!

Minneapolis Open Forum

The Minneapolis Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) is conducting an Open Forum **each Sunday afternoon at 3 P. M.,** at the new **headquarters** of the Branch as well as general public meetings on general subjects. Meetings have been held on the Spanish Revolution, the Manchurian Situation and other subjects.

Among the lectures arranged for forth coming weeks at the Minneapolis Forum are the following:

All meetings, unless otherwise mentioned are **at 3 P. M.:**

Sunday, January 3rd, 1932: Debate **"Will A Farmer-Labor Party Emancipate the Workers?"** Speaker for the Communist League, Vincent R. Dunne: F. L P. speakers to be announced.

Sunday, January 10, 1932: "Tom Mooney and the American Frame-Up System;" Speaker: Carl Cowl.

Sunday, January 17, 1932: "Imperialism; What Next?. Speaker: Vincent R. Dunne.

Sunday, January 24, 1932. DEBATE: **"Evolution or Revolution."** Speakers: Communist League and Socialist Party—to be announced.

Sunday, January 31, 1932: "The Proposed Railroad Wage Reductions", Speaker: C. R. Hedlund.

All these lectures and debates will be held at the Workers Open Forum, 1530 East Franklin Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.,

The **Admission is fr**

Stalin and the Chinese Revolution

-- *Facts and Documents* --

The Chinese Revolution of 1925-1927 remains the greatest event of modern history after the Revolution of 1917 in Russia. Over the problems of the Chinese Revolution the basic currents of Communism came to clash. The present official leader of the Comintern, Stalin, has shown himself in full stature in the events on the Chinese Revolution. The basic documents pertaining to the Chinese Revolution are dispersed, scattered, have been forgotten, some are carefully concealed.

On these pages we want to reproduce the basic stages of the Chinese Revolution in the light of articles and speeches of Stalin and his closest aids, and also decisions of the Comintern, dictated by Stalin. For this purpose we use genuine texts from our archives. We particularly print the excerpts from the speech of Chitarov, a young Stalinist, at the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which were concealed from the Party by Stalin. The readers will convince themselves of the tremendous significance of the testimony of Chitarov, a young Stalinist functionary-careerist, a participant in the Chinese events, at present one of the leaders of the Y. C. I.

In order to make the facts and citations more comprehensible, we think it useful to remind the readers of the sequence of the most important events of the Chinese Revolution.

March 20th, 1926—the first overturn of Chiang Kai-Shek in Canton.

Autumn of 1926—the VII Plenum of the E C. C. I. with the participation of a Chiang Kai Shek delegate of the Kuo Min Tang.

April 13, 1927—the **coup d'Etat** of Chiang Kai-Shek in Shanghai.

The end of May, 1927—the counter-revolutionary overturn of the "Left" Kuo Min Tang in Wuhan.

The end of May, 1927—the VIII Plenum of the E. C. C. I. proclaims the duty of Communists to remain within the "Left" Kuo Min Tang.

August 1927—the Chinese Communist Party proclaims a course toward an uprising.

December, 1927—the Canton insurrection.

February, 1928—the IX Plenum of the E. C. C. I. proclaims for China the course toward an armed insurrection and Soviets.

July, 1928—the VI Congress of the Comintern renounces the slogan of armed insurrection as a practical slogan.

1. The Block of Four Classes

Stalin's Chinese policy was based on a block of four classes. Here is how the Berlin organ of the Mensheviks evaluated this policy:

"Even on the tenth of April (1927) Martynov argued in **Pravda** quite comprehensively and . . . altogether in Menshevik style the correctness of the **official** position, which persisted on the necessity of retaining the 'block of four classes', not to rush with the destruction of the coalition government, in which the workers are in session together with the big bourgeoisie, not to hang on to them prematurely 'Socialist tasks' (**Socialist-Ichesky Vestnick** No. 8 April 23. 1927, page 4.)

What did the policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie look like? Let us bring an excerpt from the **Communist International.** (theoretical organ—Ed.).

"On the fifth of January 1927, the Canton government made public a new law on strikes, in which the workers are prohibited from carrying weapons at demonstrations, from arresting merchants and industrialists, from confiscating their commodities, and which establishes compulsory arbitration for a series of conflicts. This law contains paragraphs limiting the interests of the workers . . . But along with these paragraphs there are others, which limit the freedom of strikes **more than is required by the interests of defence during a Revolutionary war. (Communist International'** 1927, No. 82, page 11).

In the rope placed upon the workers by the bourgeoisie the threads ("paragraphs") favorable to the workers are traced. The shortcoming of the noose is in the fact that it is tightened more than is required by the interests of defence" (of the Chinese bourgeoisie). This is written in the central organ of the Comintern. Who writes? Martynov. When does he write it? On the 25th of February, six weeks prior to the Shanghai blood bath.

2. The Perspectives of the Revolution According to Stalin

How did Stalin evaluate the perspectives of the revolution led by his ally Chiang Kai-Shek? Here are the least scandalous of the declarations of Stalin (the most scandalous were not published):

"The revolutionary armies in China (that is, the armies of Chiang Kai-Shek) are the most important factor in the struggle of the Chinese workers and peasants for their liberation. For the advancement of the Cantonese means a blow at imperialism, a blow at its agents in China, and the freedom of assembly, freedom of press, freedom of organization for all revolutionary elements in China in general, **for the workers in particular".** ("On the Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution" page 46).

The army of Chiang Kai-Shek is the army of workers and peasants. It carries freedom for the whole population, "for the workers in particular".

What is needed for the success of the revolution? Little:

"The student youth (the revolutionary students), the working youth, the peasant youth,—all this is a force that can advance the revolution with seven league boots. **if it should be subordinated to the ideological and political influence of the Kuo Min Tang". (Ibid,** page 55).

In this manner the task of the Comintern consisted not in liberating the workers and peasants from the influence of the bourgeoisie, but, on the contrary, in subordinating them to their influence. This was written in the days when Chiang Kai-Shek, armed by Stalin, marched, at the head of the workers and peasants subordinated to him, "with seven league boots" towards . . . the Shanghai coup d'Etat.

3. Stalin and Chiang Kai-Shek

After the Canton **coup d'Etat,** engineered by Chiang Kai-hek in March, 1926, and which our press passed in silence, when the Communists were reduced to the role of sorry supplements of the Kuo Min Tang and even signed an obligation not to criticize Sun-Yat-Senism, Chiang Kai-Shek—a remarkable detail indeed!—started to insist on the acceptance of the Kuo Min Tang into the Comintern: In preparing himself for the role of an executioner, he wanted to have the cover of world communism and —he achieved it. The Kuo Min Tang, led by Chiang Kai-Shek and Wu-Wan-min, was accepted into the Comintern (as a "sympathizing" party). While in the preparation of decisive counter-revolutionary action in April, 1927, Chiang Kai-Shek at the same time took care to exchange portraits with Stalin. This strengthening of the ties of friendship was prepared by the journey of Bubnov, a member of the Central Committee and one of Stalin's agents, to Chiang Kai-Shek. Another "detail": Bubnov's journey to Canton coincided with the March **coup d'Eetat** of Chiang Kai-Shek. What about Bubnov? He obliged the Chinese Communists to submit and to keep quiet.

After the Shanghai overturn, the offices of the Comintern upon Stalin's order, attempted to deny that the executioner Chiang Kai-Shek was still remaining a member of the Comintern. They had forgotten the vote at the political bureau, when all against the vote of one (Trotsky) sanctioned the admission on the Kuo Min Tang into the Comintern with a consultative voice. They had forgotten that at the VII plenum of the E. C. C. I., which condemned the Left Opposition, "comrade Shao-Li-Dzi" a delegate from the Kuo Min Tang participated. Among other things the said:

"Comrade Chiang Kai-Shek in his speech to the members of the Kuo Min Tang Party pointed out that the Chinese Revolution would have been inconceivable, if it could not correctly solve the agrarian-peasant question. What the Kuo Min Tang strives for is that there should not be created a bourgeois domination after the nationalist revolution in China, as happened in the West, as we see it now in all the countries, except the U. S. S. R. . . . We are all convinced, that under the leadership of the Comintern, the Kuo Min Tang will fulfill its historic task". **(Russian Minutes** Vol. 1, page 459)

This is how matters stood at the VII plenum in the Autumn of 1926. After the member of the Comintern, "comrade Chiang Kai-Shek", who had promised to solve all the tasks under the leadership of the Comintern, solved only one: precisely the task of a bloody crushing of the revolution, the VIII plenum, in May, 1927, declared in the resolution on the Chinese question:

"The E. C. C. I. states that the events fully justified the programs of the VII enlarged plenum". (Russian edition, page 219).

Justified, and even in full! If this is humor, it is at any rate not arbitrary. However, let us not forget that this humor is thickly colored with Shanghai blood.

4. The Strategy of Lenin and the Strategy of Stalin

What tasks did Lenin pose before the Comintern in relation to the backward countries?

"The necessity of a decisive struggle against the repainting of the bourgeois-democratic liberation currents in the backward countries into the color of Communism".

In executing this the Kuo Min Tang, which had promised to establish in China "not a bourgeoisie regime", was admitted into the Comintern.

Lenin, it is understood, recognized the necessity of temporary alliances with the bourgeois-democratic movement, but he understood by this, of course, not an alliance with the bourgeois parties, deceiving and betraying the petit-bourgeois revolutionary democracy (the peasants and the small city folk), but an alliance with the organizations and groupings of the masses themselves—against the national bourgeoisie. In what form, then, did Lenin visualize the alliance with the bourgeois democracy of the colonies? To these, too, he gives an answer in his thesis written for the Second Congress:

"The Communist International could enter into temporary alliances with the bourgeois democracy of the colonies and backward countries, **but should by no means fuse with it and must unconditionally retain the independence of the proletarian movement even in its most embryonic form."**

It seems that in executing the decisions of the Second Congress, the Communist Party was made to join the Kuo Min Tang and the Kuo Min Tang was admitted into the Comintern. All this in the aggregate is called Leninism.

5. The Government of Chiang Kai-Shek As A Live Refutation of The State

How the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union evaluated the government of Chiang Kai-Shek one year after the first Canton **coup d'Etat** (March 20, 1926) is well seen in the public speeches of the members of the Polit Bureau.

Here is how Kalinin spoke in March, 1927 at the Moscow factory Gosznak:

"All the classes in China, beginning with the proletariat and ending with the bourgeoisie, hate the militarists as the puppets of foreign capital; **all the classes in China equally consider the Canton government the national government of the whole of China."** (**Isvestia,** March 6, 1927).

Another member of the Polit Bureau, Rudzutak, spoke a few days later at a gathering of the street car workers. The **Pravda** report states:

"Pausing further on the situation in China, comrade Rudzutak points out that **the revolutionary government has behind it all the classes of China".** (**Pravda,** March 9, 1927).

Voroshilov spoke in the same spirit more than once.

Truly in vain did Lenin clear the Marxian theory of the State from the petit-bourgeois garbage. The epigones succeeded in a short time to cover it with twice as much refuse.

Even on April 5 Stalin spoke in the Hall of Columns in defense of the Communists remaining in the Party of Chiang Kai-hek, and what is more, he denied the danger of betrayal on the part of his ally: "Borodin is on guard!" The overturn occured exactly one week later.

—L. D. TROTSKY.

(o be continued)

SECOND ISSUE OF YOUNG SPARTACUS IS OUT

The second, the January, issue of YOUNG SPARTACUS is out. It contains many interesting articles and educational features that are of value not only to the Communist youth, but also to the adult in the movement. There is a reprint of the historic words of Leon Trotsky at the time of the death of Lenin, "Farewell Ilyitch", an article by George Ray on the student role in the Communist movement. The article by Joseph Carter, on Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemberg stresses the determination displayed by these revolutionary leaders in continuing the struggle in spite of the fewness of followers that they at times had—and as the Left Opposition is now doing. Also this issue contains "Lenin's Will"—the statement of Lenin's still hidden from the Russian Communist Party by Stalin. On current events, there appears an article on the Marine Workers Defense and a statement by one of the young defendants, William Trajer. Many other interesting features are to be found in this number.

The first issue was well received and widely circulated. Already the effects of the issuance of a Left Opposition youth paper can be seen, not the least of which is the beginnings of a "study corner" in the **Young Worker.** YOUNG SPARTACUS will continue to appear regularly. Copies of the first and second numbers can be obtained by writing to:

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